Country: Brazil Leader: Bolsonaro

Title of Speech: Speech at Avenida Paulista

Date of Speech: September 30, 2018

Category: Campaign

Grader: Caio Emanuel Marques **Date of grading:** February 10, 2019

Final Grade (delete unused grades): 0.3

O A speech in this category uses few if any populist elements. Note that even if a speech expresses a Manichaean worldview, it is not considered populist if it lacks some notion of a popular will.

Populist Pluralist It conveys a Manichaean vision of the world, The discourse does not frame issues in that is, one that is moral (every issue has a moral terms or paint them in black-andstrong moral dimension) and dualistic white. Instead, there is a strong tendency to (everything is in one category or the other, focus on narrow, particular issues. The "right" or "wrong," "good" or "evil") The discourse will emphasize or at least not implication—or even the stated idea—is that eliminate the possibility of natural, justifiable there can be nothing in between, no fencedifferences of opinion. sitting, no shades of grey. This leads to the use of highly charged, even bellicose "Brazil is ours, the good people, workers, who do not want gender ideology in language. classrooms" "A change of 'PT not anymore, PT not ever again'. " The moral significance of the items The discourse will probably not refer to any mentioned in the speech is heightened by reified notion of history or use any cosmic ascribing **cosmic proportions** to them, that proportions. References to the spatial and is, by claiming that they affect people temporal consequences of issues will be everywhere (possibly but not necessarily limited to the material reality rather than any across the world) and across time. mystical connections. Especially in this last regard, frequent references may be made to a reified notion "We will fight until the last minute, this is the of "history." At the same time, the speaker last chance we have to get away from this will justify the moral significance of his or her 30-yr old politics of PT and PSDB" ideas by tying them to national and religious leaders that are generally

revered. Although Manichaean, the discourse is still Democracy is simply the calculation of votes. This should be respected and is seen democratic, in the sense that the good is embodied in the will of the majority, which is as the foundation of legitimate government, seen as a unified whole, perhaps but not but it is not meant to be an exercise in necessarily expressed in references to the arriving at a preexisting, knowable "will." The "voluntad del pueblo"; however, the speaker majority shifts and changes across issues. ascribes a kind of unchanging essentialism The common man is not romanticized, and to that will, rather than letting it be whatever the notion of citizenship is broad and 50 percent of the people want at any legalistic. particular moment. Thus, this good majority is romanticized, with some notion of the common man (urban or rural) seen as the embodiment of the national ideal. "We want change: get away from Communism and from the form of Politics in Venezuela" The evil is embodied in a minority whose The discourse avoids a conspiratorial tone specific identity will vary according to and does not single out any evil ruling context. Domestically, in Latin America it is minority. It avoids labeling opponents as evil often an economic elite, perhaps the and may not even mention them in an effort "oligarchy," but it may also be a racial elite; to maintain a positive tone and keep internationally, it may be the United States passions low. or the capitalist, industrialized nations or international financiers or simply an ideology such as neoliberalism and capitalism. "We will fight until the last minute, this is the last chance we have to get away from this 30-yr old politics of PT and PSDB"

Crucially, the evil minority is or was recently in charge and subverted the system to its own interests, against those of the good majority or the people. Thus, systemic change is/was required, often expressed in terms such as "revolution" or "liberation" of the people from their "immiseration" or bondage, even if technically it comes about through elections.

The discourse does not argue for systemic change but, as mentioned above, focuses on particular issues. In the words of Laclau, it is a politics of "differences" rather than "hegemony."

"This movement comes from the ones who have suffered and want changes"
"We are different from them, we are not Left, we abhor Communism, we abhor Socialism"

Because of the moral baseness of the threatening minority, non-democratic means may be openly justified or at least the minority's continued enjoyment of these will be seen as a generous concession by the people; the speech itself may exaggerate or abuse data to make this point, and the language will show a bellicosity towards the opposition that is incendiary and condescending, lacking the decorum that one shows a worthy opponent.

Formal rights and liberties are openly respected, and the opposition is treated with courtesy and as a legitimate political actor. The discourse will not encourage or justify illegal, violent actions. There will be great respect for institutions and the rule of law. If data is abused, it is either an innocent mistake or an embarrassing breach of democratic standards.

"We want a president who can appoint compromised and competent ministers, according to what is best to Brazilians" "This is our country"

Overall Comments (just a few sentences): The discourse, although short, presents us an intense use of Populist elements, but all of them making reference to a more nationalistic approach of things, giving the idea that the will of the Brazilians has to be the ruling ideology in a government. This is what Bolsonaro is proposing to the people in this speech, thus claiming to be the change and the rupture with past forms of government and presenting a government focused on giving the people what they want. There are not many strong Populist elements present that have nothing to do with Nationalism.